

# Strategy Research Project International Fellow

## Globalization and FARC

by

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# USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

## **Globalization and FARC**

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## **Abstract**

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This SRP demonstrated how globalization has changed the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), from a revolutionary communist movement in the 1960s, to a drug-trafficking group in the 1980s and to a Bolivarian movement in the 2000s. In addition globalization has changed the FARC in the way that they obtain their resources to survive, the world is changing every day and the new tools that technology can provide to this organization are some elements that help the FARC to succeed as an organization. The use of the black market is perfect to supply their needs. Yet to be involved in the chain of the drug trafficking to be able to maintain the entire that is working under ground, but they need to keep going in order to obtain their objectives. Additionally they need to spread their ideas using the Bolivarian movement to arrive to the countries of South America having the support of some leaders of the region. And the FARC will likely continue its guerrilla insurgency to maintain pressure on the government and generate an atmosphere of instability and insecurity in an attempt to force negotiations and political concessions from the government.





## **Globalization and FARC**

A revolutionary is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

—Mao tse-tung

This world is moving very fast and for that reason globalization has also changed the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), they started as a revolutionary movement in the 1960s for the Colombian Communist Party with the goal of overthrowing the Colombian government. Globalization is affecting everything in this world, because if something doesn't change it would become obsolete. The changes for the FARC have been in different ways, how they finances themselves to obtain resources, having Drug-trafficking as the main source, and which is strongly linked to arms trafficking and terrorism actions against the Colombian population and the economical infrastructure. Also, how they maintain relations with other groups in the international realm to be able to offer their ideology using the Bolivarian Movement and its newest means to globalize FARC. Another way of its globalization is through kidnapping and assassinations in foreign territories. This way I will focus on the origins of the FARC and how they have become the oldest guerrilla group in the world.

Throughout the period of organization there arose differences between the liberal guerrillas and the communists, characterized by a rigid military structure, and a well defined political objective. Finally, a group of liberal guerrillas, headed by Pedro Antonio Marín Marin (aka) Manuel Marulanda Velez (aka) Tiro Fijo (the founder of the FARC), separated from the “clean liberals” and joined with the “common liberals”, in a

long process of effective confrontation wearing for both sides. Through the process toward the conformation of the FARC we can locate it at the moment of this break. The bombardments of Marquetalia, within the military operation of extermination of the independent republics, would be the origin of this guerrilla movement.<sup>1</sup>

The peasant republics of the 1950s and 1960s had a significant impact on the political discourse of the dominant classes and consequently on state policies a few months before the election of Carlos Lleras Restrepo.<sup>2</sup>

On 27 May 1964, under the presidency of the conservative Guillermo Leon Valencia (1962-1966), the Military Forces initiated the Marquetalia operation. Under the general features of the Latin American Security operation (LASO) plan, designed by the US Pentagon and the American Embassy in Bogota. The Marquetalia operation was the largest military operation carried out in Colombia those days. It was the beginning of the armed resistance in Colombia. For months, the small group (48 men), led by Pedro Antonio Marin Marin, fought in the mountains and forests and they became a mobile guerrilla warfare group. The Colombian Army symbolically overtook the region of Marquetalia, but militarily it was impossible to put an end to the causes of the rebellion, in spite of its new conception of counter- guerrilla operations. From this stands the FARC. Therefore Marquetalia is the symbol of this prolonged phase of modern guerrilla movement throughout the country.

The attack on Marquetalia had several parts that would define what the consolidation of a guerrilla movement was, that then would be called FARC. One: The ideological support was provided by the communist party, which sent to the region Jacobo Arenas and Hernando Gonzalez (Ideological leaders). Two: this rural resistant

nucleus in Marquetalia defined something that was going to be final, to expand the guerrilla fight all around the country and to seek unity between these guerrillas and the Colombian population.

What is important in this operation is that, far from eliminating the incipient armed group and its resistance, it actually facilitated greater organization. In groups of self-defense, these peasants could be considered a political-military organization.<sup>3</sup> As time went on there had been a lot of changes in the organization, and globalization had something to do with those changes.

Globalization is a grand-scale technological, economic, social and cultural process arising from the growing communication and interdependence among countries worldwide by unifying markets, societies and cultures through a series of social, economic and political transformations which generate a global character.

Linking this concept to the dynamics of the Colombian armed conflict often identifies an active process of societies living under the called democratic capitalism or liberal democracy, which are subject to or vulnerable to be permeated by the armed revolutionaries. In the case of the FARC, globalization has echoed in several directions and has affected their purposes. Also, there have been milestones in the timeline as follows: The war on terrorism declared internationally after 2001 was one of the ingredients of the globalizing scenario which would affect the FARC because several governments, including main global powers, entered into agreements sponsored by UN and intended to fight against terrorism and drug-trafficking. As these facts are directly related to the FARC, the agreements stated special circumstances to fight against them.

The concept of terrorist organization put the FARC as a dangerous organization worldwide.

On the other hand, FARC had already achieved some international support by creating and formalizing ties of solidarity which allowed them to have international commissions on a global scale, which intended to search for ideological and armed support, which is, up to date, strong and steady. This phenomenon was called “parallel diplomacy” and resulted from the benefits of globalization.

From its political and foreign relations situation, FARC has been sympathized with and supported by international terrorist groups such as ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna “Basque Country and Freedom”, Spain) and IRA (Irish Republican Army); as well as other organizations, foundations and left-wing parties in an effort to widen its action ability abroad and reciprocity with them in terms of spreading policies, exchanging experiences, training, etc.

The Continental Bolivarian Movement and its Newest Means to Globalize FARC

In an effort to unify leadership, the updated subversive international leftish movement, referred to as “continental Bolivarian Movement” born in Venezuela by XXI Century Socialism, headed by Hugo Chavez, has provided FARC with a basis to sustain its insurrectional globalization interest.

The Bolivarian Movement is a current political theory based on the life and works of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator of several Latin American nations. This thinking trend has become a disfigured orthodoxy beginning in a revolutionary interest which considers the revolution history of independence movements by 1800s as the focus in the fight against capitalism and Counter-American trends. This condition has allowed FARC to become an example of armed fighting against “imperialism” and “domination”.

The “Bolivarian Continental Coordinator” was born upon reissue of “the Admirable Campaign by Simon Bolivar” in 2003, which involved social, political and revolutionary organizations in America, intended to rescue and enforce historical memory, popular knowledge and Bolivarian Integration in an effort to support the construction of a new power as an alternative to the imperialist powers of the world.

To the FARC, Bolivarianism means an ideology intended to join humanist republicanism to socialism, and some people think that political leaders base their own projects on Bolivar’s ideas. Such as; Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Rafael Correa in Ecuador, and Evo Morales in Bolivia, they frame their governmental activities in the so called “XXI Century Socialism”, arising from the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela. In Colombia, those ideas supported the foundation of the Colombian Conservative Party, but they have been re-interpreted and directed toward socialism by “Polo Democrático Alternativo” party and some radical sectors of the Colombian Liberal Party.

To support the ideological elements allowing FARC to enter into the globalizing scenario, it is necessary to refer to the constitutional document of “Bolivarian Continental Coordinator”, which states: “Bolívar, understood that “...being isolated and divided, the Latin American nations would become subjugated again, not by a decrepit power like Spain, but by the Anglo-Saxon power of Europe and North America which is more terrible”. “Today, when the United States and its allies have ratified their decision to become the pervert<? Omni mode power in the world scenario, the joined action is a historical need for survival and to reach a better world...”

“From Washington, running over the will of their own nation, riding roughshod over the rights of all the peoples, committing the most terrible crimes against humanity,

they have annihilated the precarious international “order” by opposing neoliberal capitalist fundamentalism and global injustice to the oldest coexistence values while most of earth’s population resists admitting force kingdom and man-by-man exploitation.”

“Imperialism not only threatens, but it has attacked and interfered in Our America and other global latitudes by trying to impose submission, exploitation and repression in benefit of total economic, cultural, political and social power. Today, through the National Security Doctrine, the ALCA (Area de Libre Comercio de las Americas, The Free Trade Area of the Americas) is, the Plan Colombia, the Andean Regional Initiative, the Puebla Panama Plan and other expressions of neo-colonization, the abuse has been increased to impose fascism which is against the most precious coexistence values of the humankind.”

“The Liberator was right when he said that ‘the United States of America seemed to be destined to bring hunger and misery to our continent in behalf of freedom’. In actions against injustice, Bolivar is the main creator of ideas and a fight –totally in force- to reach deep social and human transformation, which should be re-taken as a proposal against imperial dominion”.

“This initiative shall be performed by constituting the Bolivarian Continental Coordinator, which walking hand in hand with the Liberator, shall construct an space against the direction, which in prejudice of man, nature and universe, the capitalist world powers try to impose<sup>4</sup>”

The FARC has established a new communication strategy utilizing mass media that has allowed FARC to strengthen and consolidate the international political support

lines by joining forces to ask the government for the formalization of scenarios to search for a negotiated exit of the armed conflict.

It is important to conceptualize that globalization as a social unification factor has played a positive role for the FARC by ensuring a revolutionary validity and a high international impact of their terrorist actions which may become an asset of political scenarios. The concrete evidence incriminating FARC for their active participation in numerous transnational crimes such as drug trafficking, kidnapping assassination of foreign nationals and training foreign subversive groups, constitute an unobjectionable collection linking this terrorist group as a real transnational threat.

In this sense, it is needed to contribute to a better a knowledge of this topic by attaching analytical elements based on documents of the own organization. Also, globalization allows their armed annihilation upon international efforts which capitalize material, technological and educational assets intended to face the transnational threat.

### Drug-Trafficking

“The FARC only became a concern when it linked up with drug production as a funding source after a 1982 FARC conference: The money from, initially, taxation of the drug trade, later, direct involvement in it, provided a resource windfall which made previously marginal political actors into central figures”.<sup>5</sup>

In the “central report” of the Seventh Conference, held in May, 1982, in their financing plan, FARC stated their decision to impose a “tax” to traffickers of marijuana and cocaine. In the same event, it was prohibited to charge “gramaje” (tax) to “small croppers”, but the fronts did not obey such a provision because in the middle of the 80s, when the gangsters involved in trafficking of cocaine began to flourish, FARC began to obtain significant profits.

In 1989, this terrorist group stated the importance of “gathering information regarding the future business” and the possibilities provided, ordering the border fronts (FARC units who fight on the borders with Venezuela, Brazil, Panama, and Ecuador) to “take advantage of this resource”. Even though FARC does not expressly mention what “business” it is, their absolute immersion in this criminal modality in 90s enforces the thesis that this armed group would have decided to enter completely into drug-trafficking in an event where their “Strategic Plan to Seize Power” (“Bolivarian Campaign for the New Colombia”) was designed. What is important to notice here is that the “mission” assigned to the border fronts was to explore this business, which is an evident transnational threat.

“When the unfolding of the third front took place, they talked about financing means based on marijuana and cocaine, but they stated that taxpayers should be export traders”<sup>6</sup>.

Currently, “The FARC is illegal (it is on the U.S. and EU list of foreign terrorist networks) and has to act covertly (it is under constant pressure from Colombian military)”.<sup>7</sup> This constant pressure is both internal with the loss of power and credibility with the population, and external with the loss of international support and extradition of some of their leaders to the USA. They have routes to trade illicit drugs with several countries of the region, especially Ecuador, Venezuela and Brazil where exports by international gangsters from Mexico, United States and Europe take place.

Funding is one of the most important elements that can show how globalization is affecting the FARC organization. In the globalized world, funding for the FARC is very important and for that reason they are involved in the entire drug trafficking chain and



are receiving hundreds of millions of dollars every year for this concept. When the FARC first entered the drug trade, they protected coca growers and taxed the sale of coca to the drug-traffickers. The drug-traffickers would take raw coca leaf or coca paste and process it into cocaine. Then they would export the Colombian cocaine to their buyers in international locations, such as the United States and Europe.

The FARC and drug-traffickers relied heavily on the revenues derived from illegal drug use in the developed world. Thomas R. Cook (2011) wrote about how “the FARC gradually moved up the production chain by creating alliances with international trafficking groups and adopting some characteristics of the narco-trafficking groups”. Once the FARC had integrated with the local community, they set prices, controlled market places and the export of cocaine with their own routes. For more than two decades the FARC have been involved in the drug trafficking but now they are controlling the entire illegal drug business because by doing this they improve their profit considerably. The FARC taxed narco-trafficking groups on the maintenance of facilities, aircraft, and for the use of FARC landing strips. With these assets, the FARC made connections with international trafficking groups, such as the Arellano-Felix cartel based in Tijuana, Mexico.

“Since 2007, there has been growing evidence that FARC is involved in trafficking drugs to Mexico, through much of it transported via self-propelled semi-submersible vessels.”<sup>8</sup> The deal was to exchange cocaine for cash and perhaps arms. Bilal y Saab, Alexandra W. Taylor stated in 2008 “By February 2010, Colombian intelligence sources were claiming that FARC accounted for 70 per cent of the cocaine produced in Colombia. Further illustrating the significant role FARC plays in regional

drug trafficking - and its importance to the group's financing - Colombian Minister of Defense Juan Carlos Pinzon stated on 23 October 2012 that the group made between USD 2.4 and USD 3.5 billion per year from the drug trade”.<sup>9</sup>

In the beginning of the FARC, their leaders were confined to small scale activities to receive funds like bank robberies, kidnapping, and smalls raids. After they decided to jump into the coca trade, everything changed for the organization, they could offer protection to the small coca peasants in return for a small tax on the coca trade.

As the coca racket expanded into new markets the FARC's financial revenue exploded. Thanks to globalization FARC has expanded. “By 1996 some estimate the FARC's ranks had swollen to around 14,000 combatants (Richini, 1997)”.<sup>10</sup> And they had presence in almost 45% of the country. “The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) states that, drug trafficking is the lifeblood of the FARC because it enables the FARC to acquire weapons, ammunitions and equipment necessary to carry on its violent attacks. (DEA), 2007”.<sup>11</sup>

### Trafficking of Arms

On September 21, 2006, Peruvian justice sentenced Vladimiro Montesinos to 20 years in prison for the sale of 10 thousand AK-47 rifles to the FARC, becoming a milestone in the history of arms trafficking by this terrorist organization. However, the supporting documentation obtained in Raul Reyes' computers incriminates a foreign government in the attempt to support this terrorist group by providing strategic weapons (missiles).

Since 2008, in the city of Cali, over a thousand rifles have been confiscated belonging to criminal gangs, especially “Los Rastrojos” (Criminal gang). Based on evidence, it has been stated that these rifles were for the FARC. This situation shows

the arms-drug exchange modality which is very recurrent in these kinds of criminal organizations.

The alliance of FARC with criminal gangs serving drug-trafficking in several regions of the country, especially southwest and Catatumbo zone, has reinforced this transnational crime. These alliances are a very delicate topic because through those mafias, FARC may get strategic weapons that may not only generate a balance of force with the Colombian State, but that may be used to cause an international conflict with any neighboring country in search for an international war. “Terrorist and organized criminals may cooperate, as is the case in Colombia, where a terrorist group likes (FARC), against remuneration protects drug convoys”.<sup>12</sup>

#### Alliances with International Terrorist Groups

Evidence found in Raul Reyes’ computers showed an alliance between FARC and the Spanish terrorist group ETA which would have been “commissioned” to make terrorist attacks against Colombian figures in Spain such as Andrés Pastrana, former President; Nohemí Sanín and Plinio Apuleyo, among others. Furthermore, the Spanish judge Eloy Velasco Núñez has considered that there is an evident co-operation between the Venezuelan Government, FARC and ETA, “...after reviewing the supporting documentation delivered to his office over the past two years by high important sources such as French Gendarmerie, La Ertxantxa (Basque Police)”.

In the regional environment, there is evidence of former and current support and/or alliances with other Latin American guerrilla groups, as well as others that have been transformed into revolutionary cores such as; Sendero Luminoso of Peru; Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (Chile), Alfaro Vive (Ecuador) and several Venezuelan groups. These alliances are backed by the “Bolivarian continental movement” with

chapters (branches) in over ten countries of the continent, having as the main purpose to articulate a series of Latin American organizations engaged in the “counter-imperialist crusade” and consolidate their support to the “armed fight” in Colombia, facilitating the terrain to recover their political image, in order to be removed from terrorist organizations lists.

On the other hand, some evidence shows that FARC have had contact with Al Qaeda members in Spain to perform terrorist acts in South America, which has been reported by the British journalist Gordon Thomas (author of books such as *El Mossad* and *Las Armas Secretas de la Cía*). Other sources like El Universal of Mexico (30-OCT-03), have stated that Al Qaeda has cells in the continent (mainly in Mexico, Peru, Dominican Republic and Venezuela, which have developed contacts with the Sinaloa cartel of Mexico, FARC of Colombia and Venezuelan guerrilla groups).

The director of DEA for the Andean Region, Jay Bergman, did not doubt to qualify the relationship between the FARC and the Islamic terrorist network as “clean alliance” and admitted the displacement of distribution routes of the drug sent to Europe via Western Africa countries. (Europa Press).

#### Kidnapping and Assassination in Foreign Territories

The most important event was the kidnapping and assassination of Cecilia Cubas, former Paraguayan President’s daughter. In this case, Rodrigo Granda Escobar (aka. Ricardo González), FARC chief, was convicted and therefore included in Interpol database for this crime.

On Venezuela’s border with Colombia, in the last few years, there have been kidnappings and assassinations that have not been solved because of the refusal of Governments to advance in the proceedings to determine causes and authors;

however, it is important to notice that FARC are interested in putting pressure by generating incidents that produce higher insecurity levels in the Colombian border zones.

The same situation is not discarded in the border with Ecuador because it is important for FARC to prevent governments from articulating military security strategies in borders because they use those territories to hide their main chiefs. “For the FARC, integration was mainly achieved by setting up an approach in which drug trafficking and kidnapping were utilized to support its political goals (i.e., overthrowing the state and forcing a redistribution of land). The crucial element of integration/differentiation is to strike a successful balance between the two”.<sup>13</sup>

#### FARC Border Policy

In the Seventh Conference, FARC designed their border policy which stated not to perform armed operations against the military forces from border countries. The border policy as stated in the Seventh Conference has not been put into operation correctly because we have performed military operations in Ecuador, Brazil and recently in Peru, as well as finances in Venezuela and Panama. This fact has created conditions to unify armies from those countries against us.<sup>14</sup>

Related to this aspect, Pedro Antonio Marin Marin (Tiro Fijo) expressed his interest to establish relations with other governments in order to obtain full support: “What is important in this case is to go slowly but steadily, trying to get closer to governments and personalities in order to create supporting conditions through bi-lateral agreements. This support will be the key when we get the support of people living on the borders. We have to work hard to reach this project and to get short term consolidation”<sup>15</sup>.

This purpose was achieved because, in addition to a contribution with missiles and 300 million dollars (documents confiscated from Raúl Reyes), on January 17, 2008, the Venezuela National Assembly (equivalent to U.S. Congress), approved the political status of FARC and ELN.

On the other hand, in 1999, while performing FARC offensive operations and forecasting the government response, Mono Jojoy (Military leader for many years of FARC) disclosed another interest of the armed group in the border zone of other countries: “The border policy has to be addressed to organize people in those regions and struggle to get approval from governments to go into those territories whenever we are attacked by Colombian authorities. We should not combat in those territories because we have enough enemies here in Colombia”.<sup>16</sup>

Organizing people, as referred to by this FARC chief is a strategy that has been executed on the border with Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and Venezuela, trying to consolidate secure areas for chiefs, where they can easily evade action by Colombian authorities and converting these zones into authentic rearguard areas.

Consolidating relationships with other countries to get recognition as a belligerent force, not only with border countries, but with other regions of the world has been a prominent topic for FARC leaders. The Ninth Conference stated that relationships with other states had to be in the highest interest of FARC in order to get belligerence recognizance.

Within four years, international relations at the highest level with democratic governments such as: Vietnam, North Korea, China, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua,

Bolivia as well as other border governments in the search for a common benefit to get the acknowledgement as a belligerent force in arms<sup>17</sup>.

### Political Expansion

In 1990, Luis Alberto Morantes Jaimes (aka. Jacobo Arenas) a prominent member of the FARC stated: “It necessary to fight not only against the brutal militarist oligarchy governing Colombia, but also to have our voice, our thinking and our plan go beyond homeland borders and reach other countries and the mind of other revolutionaries.”

These statements became the foundation of the “Bolivarian Continental Coordinator” because three years later (8<sup>th</sup> Conference), Alfonso Cano proposed the implementation of a movement articulating armed action with other guerrilla and leftist groups in Latin America, trying to obtain mutual solidarity with their “causes”.

“Bolivar’s thinking went beyond borders of the countries he freed and if there are people, organizations, movements, governors or chiefs of state who promote Bolivar’s policies, they shall have our support, our sympathy and for sure, we want to work with them.”<sup>18</sup>

During the Second Congress of the “Bolivarian Continental Coordinator” held on 28-FEB-08, in Quito (Ecuador), through a video sent to the event, Raúl Reyes ordered the transformation of this organization (the FARC) into the “Bolivarian Continental Movement” (MCB) whose central axis is to articulate the Latin American leftist movements in order to obtain enough political power to be acknowledged as a belligerent force by other states and be removed from lists as terrorist organizations, a key for their strategic projection”.

## Terrorism and Globalization

It is possible that terrorism is the criminal activity most affected by globalization, in addition to this, clandestineness favors the interrelation among terrorist groups even when they follow different paths after they reach their goals.

The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century had seen the biggest historical intensification of terrorism and its spread to countries affected by conflicts between states and their people, especially in societies with great disparity, where international communism used insurrectional fight as a way of ideological propagation. Since then, political assassinations and other terrorist actions have become a common practice.

Colombia has been one of the countries affected the most by such globalization. In addition to the local development of terrorist assets, there have been services rendered by foreign mercenaries from Israel as well as other countries which provided knowledge and technological expertise to the FARC national terrorists and through them on to other subversive organizations.

Secret contacts between ETA and FARC were suspected, but, recently this alliance has been proved because of the exchange of procedures and techniques. The Basque autonomists have instructed FARC individuals in electronic techniques to remotely explode devices, i.e. cell phones. Also, they have instructed guerrillas about gas cylinders filled with explosive substances, metal pieces and infectious agents to produce more lethal effects.

The Colombian establishment and the guerrillas have understood they may not hide conflict internationalization anymore. Perhaps that is the only positive consequence from all of this because a solution seems to be far away: FARC have showed so much



adaptability to the official offensive operations that they may not be destroyed only by military means.

On the other hand, FARC activities in drug-trafficking, kidnapping, indiscriminate assassinations seem to indicate that the guerrillas are more focused on the clandestine business than on getting the alleged political objectives which served as a basis when they were founded; its transformation into a political group is denaturalized because demobilization and disarming is not an option in their priorities. It is required to get more international participation to reach a solution for one of the longest internal armed conflicts in the world.

#### Other Topics that Confirm FARC Globalization

The Paraguayan Popular Army (EPP), a guerrilla group which eventually forced President Fernando Lugo to declare a state of emergency in five departments in the north of the country, has had a relationship with FARC, as stated by the Paraguayan prosecutor's office.

The leftish radical armed group, which has claimed responsibility for several kidnappings and assassinations, is a Marxist-Leninist "revolutionary and political-military organization" which was born within the "Patria Libre" movement whose members took part in the kidnapping of Cecilia Cubas, daughter of former Paraguayan President Raúl Cubas Grau, in 2004.

Alcides Oviedo Brítez and Juan Francisco Arrom created "Corriente Patria Libre" (CPL) in 1990 within the "Movimiento Democrático Popular" (MDP) which became "Partido Patria Libre" (PPL) in 2002. In February 2006, they entered into action with ambushes, killing policemen, and assaults on police stations and financial institutions.

EPP has been historically related to the FARC. Its operations manual was prepared by the FARC, as stated in reports by Paraguayan authorities. This information was provided by Carmen Villalba, EPP member, convicted for the kidnapping of María Edith Bordón in 2001: “It is required to destroy everything and construct a Socialist Republic again,... it is the only solution to the problems of the country... the guerrillas have been accommodated in our country for a long time... it is an honor for us to be part of EPP in prison”, the captured guerrilla said in 2008.

“We have evidence that FARC have sent advisors to Paraguay and that they received 30% of the payment for the kidnapping of María Edith Bordón”, Sandra Quiñónez, prosecutor of the Counter Kidnapping Unit said in El Tiempo newspaper. Bordón was kidnapped on September 21, 2001 and her family paid a million dollars for her to be released.

“Osvaldo, (Severino Martínez), chief of Partido Patria Libre, reports he has our 300.000 dollars product of a ransom in a joint job FARC-PL”, Raúl Reyes stated in an e-mail to Rodrigo Granda on September 16, 2003.

The prosecutor had requested the arrest of three FARC members: Raúl Reyes, Rodrigo Granda and Orley Jurado, aka Commander Santiago who was the advisor in the kidnapping and assassination of Cecilia Cubas. Now, he is waiting for a judge to issue an international arrest warrant and for Interpol to apprehend him.

In accordance with the Paraguayan official, kidnappings in the last few years as well as several attacks on government and military facilities, performed by EPP, are similar to those performed by FARC. Files on Reyes’ computer in 2003 show that several Paraguayan individuals had traveled to Colombia for training and shelter.

Paraguayan law enforcement, in cooperation with Colombian Police, has tracked evidence all the way to Brazil. In this country, reports accessed by El Tiempo newspaper, stated that Juan Arrom –former chief of PPL- and 'cura Camilo', a “big cheese” of the FARC international front, keep permanent contact.

Intelligence sources state that at the end of 2012, there were contacts between Granda and Manuel Mieres –Paraguayan EPP member- so that EPP could have a delegation in the third meeting of the Bolivarian Continental Coordinator, held in Venezuela.

Investigators have also detected FARC interest in illicit activities performed in the Triple Frontier (Argentina, Brazil y Paraguay), where intelligence reports disclose an intense drug trafficking, illegal weapons, money laundering and presence of Islamic extremist groups. In addition, reports coming from the Brazilian Gendarmerie and openly circulating, throughout the region, EPP would be organizing a logistic support base at Triple Frontier in cooperation with FARC. “There would be evidence that EPP is creating a support network with drug-trafficking operations, weapons supply and false documentation. For these purposes, the Triple Frontier region provides huge facilities due to the great density of illicit business”.

Alliances between terrorist groups and drug traffickers are a growing concern for law enforcement agencies. “The capital of Amambay, 600 kilometers north of Asunción, is dominated by violence between marijuana and cocaine traffickers”, Brazilian Police Officer stated. There are cells containing the most powerful cartels from Brazil, Comando Vermelho and the Primer Comando Capital.

The Correio Brasileiro newspaper says that Paulist mafia, which permeated throughout Paraguay, has a relationship with FARC through the main trafficker of Brasil, Luiz Fernando da Costa (Fernandinho Beira-Mar), who while he escaped to Colombia established commercial ties with that narco-guerrilla group. That relationship has been strengthened in the last few years because of the trafficking of marihuana in Paraguay, which supplies 80% of the Brazilian market.

Today, it is very difficult to see a dividing line among drug traffickers, leftist guerrilla and Islamic terrorists. Globalization has brought them together. They share tactics and strategies against democratic governments. It is a dangerous cocktail which harasses democracies”, intelligence agents say.

#### FARC International Front and its Globalizing Scope

New disclosures about Europeans connected to the FARC continue generating more concerns regarding the scope of the “Strategic Plan” of this terrorist group. It shows steadily that, despite skepticism by some individuals, FARC are convinced that the armed way is viable to seize political power as long as this activity is accompanied by an integral strategy in armed, political (national and international) and financial fields.

In order to deal with the propaganda activities in Europe, the Colombian government must develop a plan to fight against these activities of the FARC and represent the real drama in Colombia.

It is very significant that a Spaniard, a Dane, two Italians and an Australian, linked to FARC through communist parties of their own countries, have “worked freely” in Europe for such a long time in the assignment to spread FARC propaganda, without restrictions by Colombian consular and diplomatic bodies. The worst fact is that those

officials full of privileges would have not become aware of what FARC did and continue doing if the Reyes' PC had not been found.

However, since the important thing is to provide solutions instead of diagnosis and speculation, it is required that the chancellor and other ministries design a joint strategy with accurate objectives and action lines that the state enacts no matter who is in power.

It is highly required to notify all international organizations in writing about the flagrant attempt by Chavez to militarily attack Colombia as a complement of the international strategy directed from Cuba and intended to implement a pushover government in favor of a communist totalitarian project in the hemisphere.

In order to make the international community aware of the link between Cuba, Venezuela, and the FACE, the following actions must be taken:

First: structuring legal actions, as required, against regional heads of state supporting terrorism. The contents of Raul Reyes' computers may not be forgotten as holders of some documents that were not used only to produce a media wave but also for legal actions against conspirators in and out of Colombia. History would not forgive idleness.

Second, through speeches, presentations, pamphlets, DVDs and audio cassettes, let the entire world know about the reality of communist terrorism and what the integral strategy that involves Marxist governors of Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Cuba and Nicaragua, all supported by FARC.

Third, making permanent coordination and exchange of information with different international agencies, to arrest terrorists conducting events and activities in favor of FARC abroad.

Fourth, changing the bureaucratic image and the work system of consulates and embassies so that these places become a meeting point for fellow nationals abroad and spread a positive image of the country. Therefore the embassies and consulates would become real multipliers of Colombian values.

Finally, improving Colombian's leadership role in the continent, now that Latin America is lacking leaders because heads of governments like Lula and Chávez, instead of fully committing to modern supra development and socio economic benefit of their own community, they have been determined to support FARC, to get political recognition for them and to expand the out of date ideas of communism. Colombia must not fall into the wave of leftish demagogic populism coming from neighboring countries.

As inferred from the analysis, these are just some of the challenges for the chancellor to repair the path of the good diplomatic ties. However, from an integral strategy, it must be done with accurate national objectives and with the obligation to have Correa, Chávez, Ortega, Lula and Fidel Castro respect Colombia in its sovereignty, integrity and dignity because the international justice also takes care of communists even though they think that they are immune.

#### FARC Globalization Findings

The finding of the personal diary of a Dutch terrorist working for FARC, is additional evidence that Colombian war spread across borders, not only with neighboring countries, but also the first world nations because of the drug trafficking expansion. In addition to the international offices that FARC has had in Costa Rica,

Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Ecuador, there have been sporadic speeches from Olga Marín, Raúl Reyes, Marcos Calarcá, Oliverio Medina and Javier Calderón, in the international arena in order to expose the ideological platform of FARC and to deny any links with drug trafficking as well as the systematic rejection to any involvement linking them to terrorism, which is, as they say, an invention of the United States, their number one ideological enemy.

In Spain, France, Ecuador, United States, Canada, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Netherland, Brazil, Chile. Mexico, Dominican Republic, Guyana and other places, clandestine delegates constantly spread propaganda in favor of FARC.

Unionists exiled for belonging to the clandestine organization, former injured combatants, children of former guerrillas, members of the Colombian Communist Party, and members of the international support networks, are directed by the subversive ideal and motivated by drug trafficking profit to spread propaganda promoting alleged ideals of political and social change through armed fight as the only means to defeat bourgeois owners of power in Colombia with support of receptors and promoters in and out of the country.

The clandestine actions of the FARC international front have extended their reach to the United States. The evidence of this fact is that based on a sworn statement by an agent of the Diplomatic Security Service in Mexico, a federal court in Miami convicted Julieta Quiroz, Nicaraguan, 49, U.S. national and former consul of U.S. Embassy in Mexico, for bribery when she received 345.000 dollars resulting from illicit

sale of 180 visas irregularly granted to FARC terrorists, drug traffickers and weapon traffickers.

Charged with intent to commit crimes, bribery and fraud, Julieta Quiroz was arrested along with Olga Elena Ramírez and her husband, Juan Carlos Ramírez. Around the same time, US security authorities arrested, in Miami, a trafficker supplying the FARC clandestine networks with weaponing from Florida and Caribbean coast.

When browsing the Internet, it is common to find evidences in the United States, Canada, Spain, Chile, Brazil and other countries of FARC terrorists who have illegally entered into those territories or who have received asylum as unionists victims of political persecution, students, union representatives or victims of AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, Self Defense Units of Colombia) violence.

Regardless of how they enter into those countries or their migratory status, these individuals strive in their collective mission to discredit the Colombian Army, the only institution that prevents guerrillas from seizing power. However, labor of propaganda distributors is not isolated. It is part of a systematic and permanent process of political war, propaganda, misinformation and false accusation, intended to decay the combative moral of the armed forces and the exploit the ideological weakness of Colombian consular and diplomatic bodies contradicting the reality.

Other members of FARC International Front are in charge of financing in stock exchange, laundering money through electronic transactions in banks and purchasing equipment, weapons and logistic supplies for gangs operating all over Colombia.

All of them are intended to strengthen relations with communist parties and to obtain assets derived from donations by misinformed or leftist non-governmental



organizations. In essence, they are a very active clandestine organization with solid branches in Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Guyana, Panama, Central America and a permanent presence of delegates in other countries, dedicated to undermining order in Colombia, to search for international support and to repeat that FARC are not terrorists, but peasants using weapons against social injustice by Colombian oligarchy. Theirs is a simple method: One drop of water hitting the rock.

In conclusion, This SRP demonstrated how globalization has changed the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), from a revolutionary communist movement in the 1960s, to a drug-trafficking group in the 1980s and to a Bolivarian movement in the 2000s. In addition globalization has changed the FARC in the way that they obtain their resources to survive, the world is changing every day and the new tools that technology can provide to this organization are some elements that help the FARC to succeed as an organization.

The use of the black market is perfect to supply their needs. Yet to be involved in the chain of the drug trafficking to be able to maintain the entire that is working under ground, but they need to keep going in order to obtain their objectives. In addition, to continue getting recognition, the FARC must insist on accomplishing their goals, and for this they are using the international committee. Additionally they need to spread their ideas using the Bolivarian movement to arrive to the countries of South America having the support of some leaders of the region. And the FARC will likely continue its guerrilla insurgency to maintain pressure on the government and generate an atmosphere of instability and insecurity in an attempt to force negotiations and political concessions from the government.

## Endnotes

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<sup>2</sup> Nazih Richani, *Systems of Violence. The political economy of war and peace in Colombia*.(New York: State University of New York, 2002), p.30.

<sup>3</sup> Juan Guillermo Ferro Medina y Graciela Uribe Ramon, *El orden de la Guerra, Las FARC-EP: Entre la organizacion y la política*.(Bogota:Ceja,2002), p.27,28.

<sup>4</sup> Bolivarian Continental Coordinator, Fight Platform. Reserved document, FARC letters, August, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Rene M. Bakker, Jorg Raab H. Brinton Milward, A Preliminary Theory of Dark Network Resilience, 24 Oct 2011, p. 43

<sup>6</sup> Seventh Conference, Central Report, May, 1982.

<sup>7</sup> Rene M. Bakker, Jorg Raab H. Brinton Milward, A Preliminary Theory of Dark Network Resilience, 24 Oct 2011, p. 42

<sup>8</sup> IHS Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC). P. 20  
<https://janes.ihs.com/CustomPages/Janes/DisplayPage.aspx?itemID=1320752>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 21

<sup>10</sup> Rene M. Bakker, Jorg Raab H. Brinton Milward, A Preliminary Theory of Dark Network Resilience, 24 Oct 2011, p. 43

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 47

<sup>12</sup> Frank G. Madsen, Transnational Organized Crime, Global Institutions. P 64.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 51

<sup>14</sup> Eighth Conference, April 1993.

<sup>15</sup> Communication from Tirofijo to the Fronts, New Year message. 06-JAN-06.

<sup>16</sup> Communication from Mono Jojoy to FARC Fronts, 15-JAN-99

<sup>17</sup> Theses and Theories, Ninth Conference, January 2006

<sup>18</sup> Interview to Ricardo Juvenal Palmera Pineda (aka Simón Trinidad). Tiempos del Mundo Newspaper, Madrid, 01-OCT-01.